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## DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

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Chad: Key Players in the Libyan-backed Rebel Government--the GUNTSummary

Libya resurrected remnants of the OAU-sponsored Transitional Government of National Unity (GUNT) after Hissein Habre chased its factional leaders and forces into exile in 1982. Held together only by Libyan material assistance and opposition to Habre, this main grouping of Chadian dissidents is now no more than the creature of Qadhafi, who prescribes the political stance of its ostensible leader, Goukouni Weddeye. Lately, growing anti-Libyan sentiment and chronic centrifugal forces have brought GUNT to the point of disintegration, with some splinter factions even exploring the possibility of reconciliation with Habre. The influence and image of individual leaders of GUNT and its various factions have

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deteriorated along with the organization's fortunes and forces. We do not see anyone emerging anytime soon with enough political support to challenge Habre for the leadership of Chad. [ ]

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### Factional Disintegration

Finding a workable political framework that can accommodate the interests of Chad's competing ethnic factions and their external supporters--principally Libya and France--has long been the central and most elusive issue facing this strife-torn country. Chad's 4.5 million or so people and more than 200 ethnic groups fall into three broad groupings (see map). Black southerners residing below the 10th parallel comprise some 54 percent of the population. A quarter of them are Sara, the south's dominant tribe, which itself is split among four rival subgroups. The Sara and other southerners were heavily influenced by French culture and Christianity during the colonial era, and they dominated the predominantly Muslim north after independence from France in 1960 until the late 1970s. [ ]

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Central Chadians are the next largest grouping and collectively account for 41 percent of the population. Arabs, divided into numerous clans, make up 14 percent of the total population and stretch in a belt from Nigeria to Sudan. They share the region with an assortment of Islamized non-Arab tribes. [ ]

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Finally, in the sparsely populated desert and mountain wastelands above the 14th parallel live the fiercely independent Toubou peoples. This loose network of mutually feuding, seminomadic, non-Arab warrior clans make up only five percent of the population but have been in the forefront of the country's civil war since 1968. [ ]

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### GUNT's Origins

The so-called Transitional Government of National Unity (GUNT), a loose coalition of anti-Habre factions ostensibly led by Goukouni Weddeye, is the principal Chadian dissident grouping and the one most in thrall to Libya. GUNT came into being as a result of the Lagos II accords drawn up under the auspices of the OAU in 1979 to end Chad's chronic civil war. Appointed for an 18-month term, GUNT was envisioned as an interim coalition government and was charged with guiding the country through elections and the formation of a permanent government. [ ]

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However, the interim government broke apart before it could even begin to address its major tasks. Then Defense Minister Hissein Habre and his Gorane faction of northern Toubou tribesmen took up arms against GUNT President Goukouni, whose own Toubou clan was allied with the southern forces of GUNT Vice President Wadal Abdul Kadar Kamougue. Habre demonstrated that he commanded the most effective fighting force in Chad, and only the intervention of 7,000 Libyan troops with sophisticated weaponry at the end of 1980 prevented his takeover. When Libyan leader Qadhafi withdrew his forces a year later at Goukouni's improvident request, the way was clear for Habre's resurgence, and he ousted Goukouni in June 1982. [redacted]

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Within three months, Habre consolidated his hold over most of Chad except for the northernmost Aozou Strip--held by 1,000 Libyan troops since 1973. Goukouni, Kamougue, and the remnants of their government and factional military forces fled to neighboring countries and made their way to Libya and northern Chad. Qadhafi helped reestablish Goukouni and GUNT by October 1982 as a rival "government" to Habre, and intervention of French military forces in August 1983 Chadian dissident heavily-armed and Libyan troops, from routing Habre in a southward military thrust. [redacted]

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In theory, GUNT runs its government from Bardai in the rugged mountains of northwestern Chad, just south of the Aozou Strip. It has a Cabinet, reflecting the same anti-Habre coalition as the former interim government, with Kamougue still titular Vice President. GUNT's military arm is called the National Liberation Army (ANL). [redacted]

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We are unsure of the status of ANL Chief of Staff General Djogo, a competent French-trained southern Sara who held senior positions in Chad's first post-independence regime. [redacted]

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[redacted] In our judgment, the Libyans may value Djogo as a figurehead who enables the ANL to claim to have an ethnically-mixed leadership, but his pragmatism makes him no favorite of Tripoli. [redacted]

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#### GUNT Today: Growing Factionalism and Dissension

During the best of times, GUNT was never more than an uneasy amalgamation of widely diverse and traditionally hostile ethnic and religious groups united only by hostility to Habre and by the prospect of sharing the spoils of governing Chad. The military stalemate since last August has increased the pull of GUNT's centrifugal forces. The Embassy [redacted] report that factionalism is on the upswing both between

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[redacted]

and within the several groups making up GUNT. Animosity toward the Libyans is growing as well. [redacted]

[redacted]

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The eleven factions that originally constituted GUNT have undergone some dropouts and mergers, leaving six groups. The three major components of GUNT remain Goukouni's northern Toubou People's Armed Forces (FAP); Kamougue's Armed Forces of Chad (FAT), mostly southern Sara; and the Democratic Revolutionary Council (CDR), primarily Arabs from central Chad, led by GUNT Minister of Defense Achiek ibn Oumar. However, Goukouni's and Kamougue's groups seem to count for less and less these days. In addition to the three principal groups, GUNT includes the National Democratic Union (UND), centered in southwestern Chad; the Armed Forces of the West/People's Movement for the Liberation of Chad (FAO/MPLT), based in west-central Chad; and the combined First Army/Volcan Forces (FA/VF), operating in east-central Chad (see chart). [redacted]

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#### The Major Factions

Goukouni's People's Armed Forces (FAP) traditionally has been considered one of the GUNT's driving forces because of Goukouni's position as President of the original GUNT and because of the fighting qualities of his warriors, drawn from the Teda clan of the Toubou, whose homeland the Libyans now occupy. Lately, however, FAP's image has deteriorated considerably, reflective of its many weaknesses. Chief among these is Goukouni himself, whose indecisiveness and lack of leadership have long irritated other GUNT leaders and the Libyans. [redacted] rumors that the Libyans will dump Goukouni are increasing, and his days may well be numbered. [redacted]

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FAP combatants at Goukouni's command are no longer a large or significant force, and the US Embassy in N'Djamena estimates they may be down to 200 fighting men. Whatever FAP's actual numbers, it is kept on a short leash by the Libyans, who dribble out foodstuffs and supplies and probably exercise direct operational command. [redacted]

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[REDACTED]

FAP's position on a negotiated settlement with Habre is dictated by the Libyans and is aimed at keeping alive the fiction that Goukouni represents the true Chadian government. As was made clear at the breakdown of last January's OAU attempt to hold a reconciliation summit meeting on Chad in Addis Ababa, Goukouni insists on meeting Habre as an equal, while Habre's position is that lower-level negotiations must be the first step. We foresee no early resolution of this key sticking point or swift progress arising from the tentative contacts that have been made in such sites as Brazzaville and Paris. [REDACTED]

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Kamougue's Armed Forces of Chad (FAT), apart from a few hundred FAT soldiers under Libya's thumb in the north, exists in name only. When Habre seized N'Djamena in 1982, the FAT forces of GUNT--the remnants of Chad's post-independence gendarmerie that was largely comprised of southern Saras--were the most numerous and best trained armed group in Chad. While Kamougue established himself in exile in Brazzaville, hundreds of FAT fighters made their way to Libya and northern Chad. A large number of other FAT personnel simply slipped into the bush to form various "commando" groups in the south, a number of which have rallied--or indicate they will soon--to Habre's side. [REDACTED]

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Kamougue, the strongman of the south in an earlier time, appears powerless and to have been all but written off by the majority of southern dissidents, GUNT, and Libya. [REDACTED] even the Permanent Committee Kamougue set up in Brazzaville has broken with him. Kamougue now heads the Revolutionary Movement of the People (MPR), also based in Brazzaville, which has declared its allegiance to GUNT. The MPR is in our view just a facade for Kamougue and lacks political significance. Still, it seems obvious to us that Libya and GUNT keep Kamougue's name on the masthead to maintain the fiction that GUNT represents the whole Chadian people, since he remains one of the best known southern Chadians. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] because Kamougue is a black African, Goukouni and Libya also find Kamougue a useful emissary in pleading GUNT's political position with African francophone leaders who currently back Habre. [REDACTED]

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The Arab-based Democratic Revolutionary Council (CDR) appears to be the real driving force of the ANL at this point, and as the Embassy in N'Djamena confirms, CDR is on better terms with the Libyans than any other GUNT faction. However, CDR's Arab complexion, close ties to Libya, internal turmoil, and lack of a strong central figure all militate against the probability that the group will produce a leader who can command the obedience of Chad's multiplicity of fractious groups as a compromise alternative to both Habre and Goukouni. CDR may comprise as many as six of the ANL's possible nine "groupements." [REDACTED]

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CDR traditionally has received the greatest share of Libyan material support, and its forces seem to be at least adequately equipped and supplied. The US Embassy in N'Djamena reports that recent Toubou ralliers to Habre have spoken of CDR troops as Libyan "acolytes" who treat other Chadians "as slaves." Despite its relative strength, though, even CDR has not been immune from some defections by isolated bands to Habre's ranks in recent weeks. According to the N'Djamena government, there may be several hundreds of CDR ralliers coming in soon. We agree with the Embassy's judgment that the figures seem highly inflated. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] CDR is split into two or three antagonistic groups. A knowledgeable French journalist told US officials in Paris that the basic split is between CDR head Achiek ibn Oumar and his top military chief, Rakhis Manani. [REDACTED]

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### The Lessor Factions

In our judgment there is little chance that one of GUNT's minor groupings will turn out a person who can capture the imagination and cooperation of his countrymen. The small southern-based National Democratic Union (UND), under Facho Balaam, has never been much more than a grouping of southern intellectuals and professionals, with a few soldiers active in a small corner of southwestern Chad. [REDACTED]

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The now combined Armed Forces of the West/People's Movement for the Liberation of Chad (FAO/MPLT) is composed of the remnants of the former Third Army, once a minor force sporadically active north of Lake Chad. The Third Army was based among Chad's Kanembou Muslims, who are ethnically and religiously linked to Chad's Toubous and the related Kanuri people of northwestern Nigeria. [REDACTED]

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The FAO/MPLT is probably little more than an organizational nameplate for its leader, Abderahmane Aboubakar. [REDACTED]

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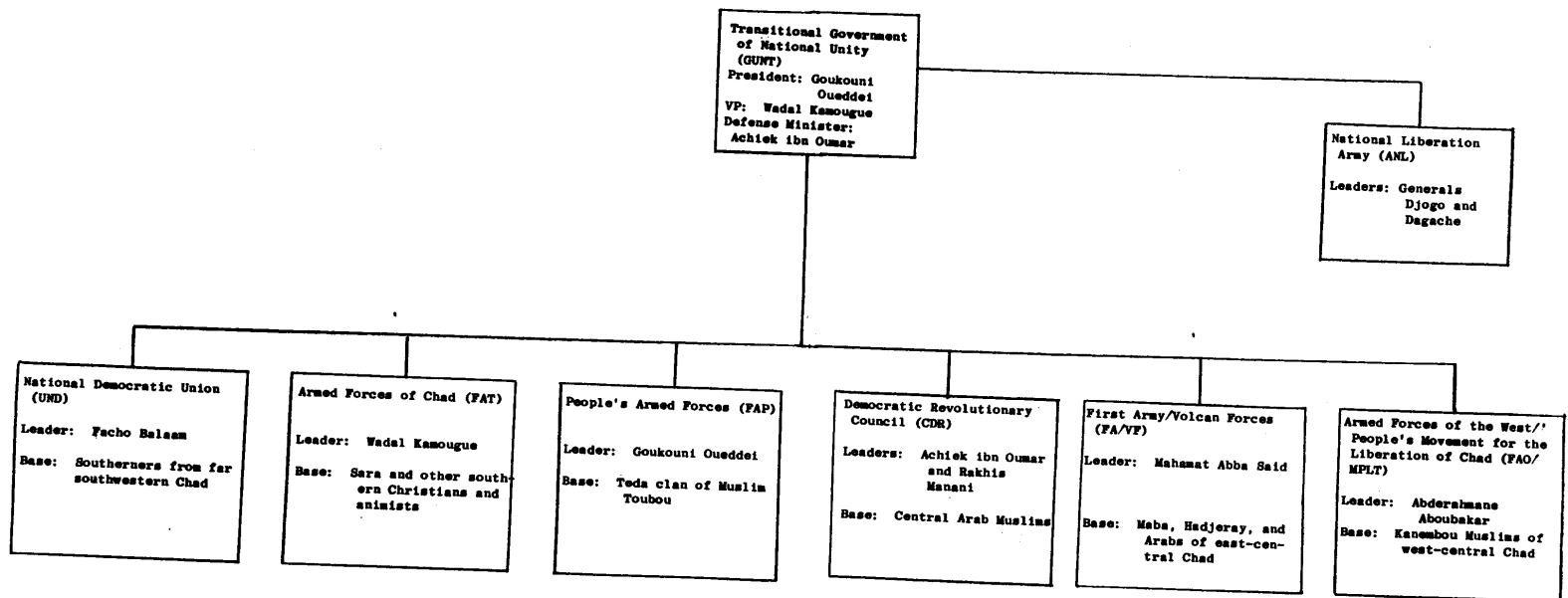
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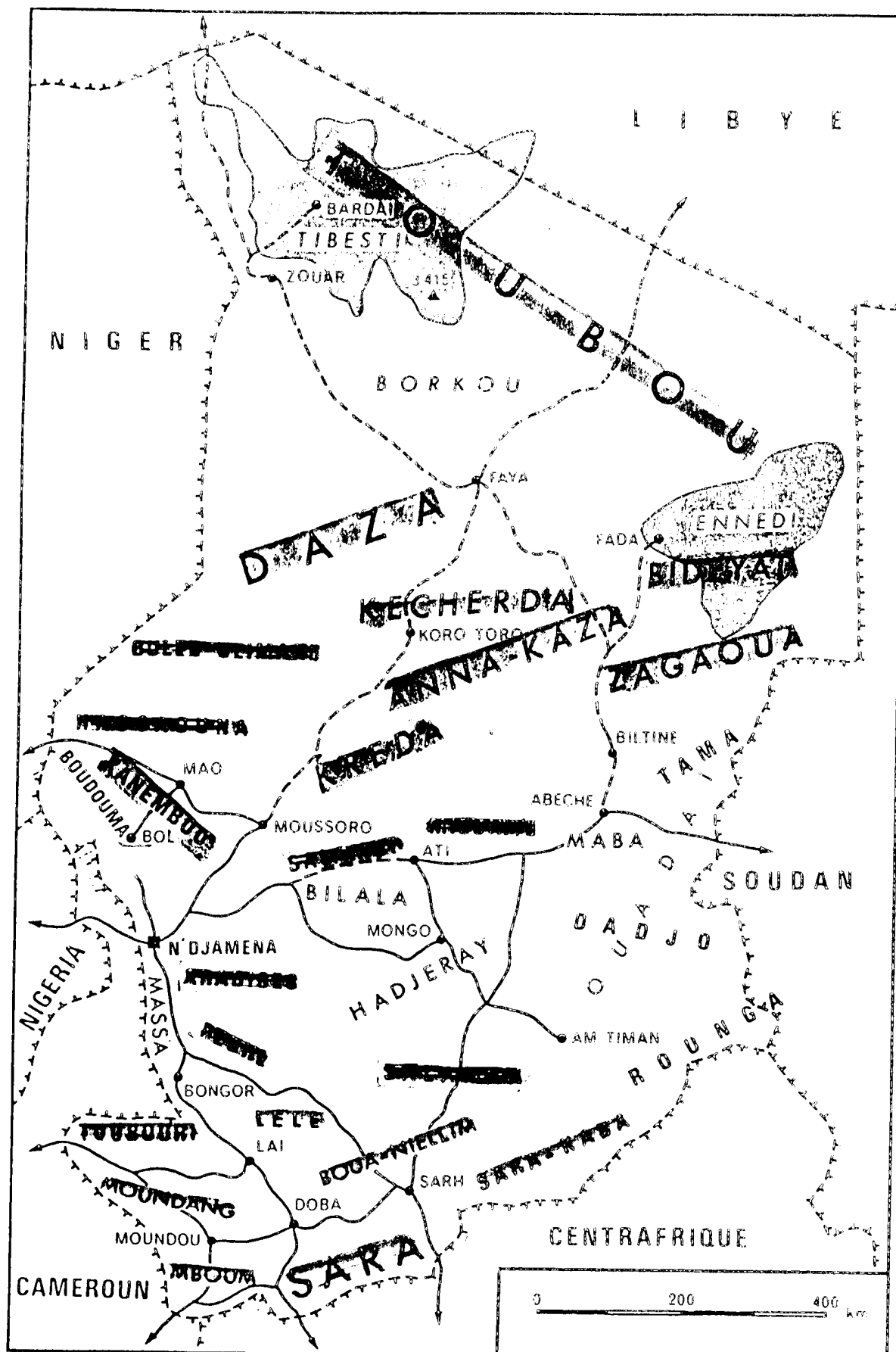
Mahamat Abba Said's combined First Army/Volcan Forces (FA/VF) operates in southeastern Chad and is a feeble rival of the much larger CDR, with whom its roving bands periodically clash. Unlike CDR, Said's group includes both Arab and non-Arab Muslim tribes. [REDACTED]

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- BLUE : Toubou & Assimilated Groups - 5%
- GREEN : Central Arabs - 14%
- YELLOW: Other Non-Arab Central Groups - 27%
- RED : Sara & Other Southern Groups - 54%